PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 63 London: August 28, 1937 2d.

IMPERIALISM BEHIND WAR IN CHINA

Another Call from the Basque Country—

"SAVE OUR CHILDREN!"

By A. RUTH FRY

THE representative of the War Resisters' International writes from the Basque country:—

"Up to now the civil population of the North of Spain has been treated with the medical stores not immediately required on the battle fronts, but at the present time these precious means of subsistence no longer exist for the non-combatant element.

"Consequently many people have perished for lack of necessary treatment and it causes real anguish to see our loved ones simply allowed to die without the least medical attention. **With everyone absorbed by the war, it seems to be nobody's concern to care for our children, our women and old people. Yet they need the medicines which, unfortunately, are no longer available—nor can we see when they will be forthcoming.**

"Our friends here implore me to ask you to find some way of sending them at least some of the medicines listed on the attached schedule. I doubt not that you will know how to reply to this pitiful cry.

HELPLESS

"To do so would bring consolation into so many homes where innocent victims of this terrible war see with horror sickness developing in the house and know beforehand that they will be able to do nothing to stop or cure it.

"I therefore entreat you, our friends and brothers, for the sake of the children, the old people, and all those dear to us who are patiently suffering the horrors of this slaughter, not to forsake us in these moments of real anguish and terror. Help those who are quite innocent and who suffer most from this terrible scourge."

Perhaps as you read this letter you hear the happy laughter of your own little children, full of health and the joy of life—will you think for a moment of other little children who once knew the same joy, but who now know nothing but fear, terror, sickness, and even death?

Please send us your gift so that we may be enabled to bring healing and relief to some who otherwise may perish. The need is urgent and great. Mark your gift "Basque Appeal," and will you send it to me now, addressing it to A. Ruth Fry, War Resisters' International, Spanish Relief Fund, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Only a World Conference Can Remove Its Cause

CONFLICT OF RIVAL INTERESTS

THE swift development of war in China adds urgency to the pacifist demand for the ending of imperialism and for a world conference to deal with the economic and territorial grievances which lie behind so much of the unrest liable to lead to other sudden catastrophes.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that readers of PEACE NEWS have been quick to see the lesson for the rest of world, which is implicit in the present struggle.

L. Tomkinson, a London reader, for example, reminds his fellow-pacifists

"that this conflict arises out of problems which cannot be solved apart from the type of conference which Mr. Lansbury is urging."

He also recalls that efforts by prominent pacifists to organize a Peace Army, when the "Mukden Incident" several years ago inaugurated the present phase of imperialist aggression in China, revealed a live interest in peace in the Far East.

"That venture was doubtless impracticable from the first, since frontiers cannot be crossed without the assent of non-pacifist governments," he writes.

"Recent events in connexion with Spain, however, have shown, on the one hand, that it is possible to obtain the assent of governments to the activities of pacifists in constructive humanitarian work, and on the other that, whatever their critics may say, members of the Peace Pledge Union are by no means content to play the part of the priest and the Levite.

"At this date it is not possible to suggest any specific line of activity, but I hope that through the coming weeks members of the P.P.U., as they see in the newspapers the headlines of the war in the Far East, will keep in mind the opportunities which may offer for pacifists to show their practical concern for their fellow-men, even though they may seem so remote."

Another reader (E. Pease) writing from Sheffield—a "birthplace" of armaments—wonders whether we cannot use the present situation "to convince our fellow men of the folly of making munitions for others to shoot."

"Who can say that what is being made in, say, Sheffield, may not be used in China tomorrow?" he asks.

BRITISH "INTERESTS"

Japanese imperialism may be the reason for the war, but the existence of considerable British trading interests in the area of Japan's operations also involves the people of this country in the conflict. As our Sheffield correspondent adds, "we must not forget our soldiers are there and it only needs a small thing. . . . Yet some say our Government will keep us out. Will they? Can they?"

That concern for the fate of these "interests" is already being felt in some quarters was indicated by a leading article in *The Times* last week, asking "what measures are being, or can be, taken to salvage those British interests—representing at least a third of Great Britain's total capital investment in China—which are already involved in the holocaust?"

The extent of these "interests" may be gained from the fact that the amount of British capital invested in Yangtzepoo—the port of Shanghai—is not much less than £100,000,000.

As several properties in this area have been occupied by the Japanese they have suffered bombardment by the Chinese forces. Apparently disturbed more by this than by the troubles of the Chinese, *The Times* declared that Japan was conducting her war with China "by methods which include trespassing by her military forces on the property of neutral Powers and which have already been the direct cause of heavy financial and material losses to this and to other countries. **How much farther is this kind of thing to go?"**

A further indication of trade rivalries in China was provided by a letter from A. Morgan Young published in the same newspaper recently, in which it was asserted that "there have, ever since 1932, been current beliefs that Japanese goods, especially those for the Japanese de-

(Continued on page 2, col. 2)

Empire Policy in the Pacific

THE representatives of the British Empire admitted a few months ago that they could help to promote peace in the Pacific region.

A report issued after the Imperial Conference declared that they *"noted with interest the statement that Australia would greatly welcome a regional understanding and pact of non-aggression by the countries of the Pacific, and would be prepared to collaborate to that end with all the peoples of the Pacific region in a spirit of understanding and sympathy.*

"They agreed that if such an arrangement could be made it would be a desirable contribution to the cause of peace and to the continued maintenance of friendly relations in the Pacific, and that it should be the subject of further consultation between Governments."

Although a non-aggression pact is useless unless the conditions that lead to aggression are removed, these words seemed to imply a willingness to attempt the removal of barriers to peace.

Pre-occupation with the present threat to British "interests" must not be allowed to dispel any intention there may have been to tackle this, the real problem.

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JOIN THE ARMY?



The Old Soldier's Reply

A Nottingham ex-Service member of the Peace Pledge Union takes up the War Office challenge by "parading" with P.P.U. posters, PEACE NEWS, **and** *War medals. It was the first time he had worn the latter when selling PEACE NEWS, and he sold thirty copies—his previous maximum was fourteen. Others, please copy!*

(For ex-Service pacifists' reply to critic of Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier, see page 5. A review of Brig.-Gen. Crozier's new book appears on page 8.)

Facts Showed the Necessity of Pacifism

From Our Special Correspondent

GENEVA, August 21, 1937.

THIS week's meetings of the Geneva Institute of International Relations have on the one hand left no room for doubt that collective "security" is still the highest ideal which public opinion in League of Nations Union circles can grasp.

Among the lectures most enthusiastically received were Mr. Andrew Rothstein's exposition of the Russian proposals for "reinforcing" the League Covenant and Sir Norman Angell's final plea for a "peace front" strong enough in arms to "block the way to redress by conquest."

On the other hand, every lecture which was informative rather than propagandist in intention, by implication made the necessity of pacifism more and more insistent.

As one of the leaders of the Young Teachers' Conference, not a pacifist, said to your correspondent at the end of the second day, "Everything we have heard so far points to complete pacifism." I give some illustrations of the kind of talk which led to this conclusion.

Dr. Gooch's two lectures on international politics, from what I described in a question as the "history text book view of the international scene," showed how callously peoples are made pawns on the chessboard of an armed diplomacy. Dr. J. B. Condliffe, in a "World Economic Survey," said that "a large part of the world is not only peace-loving and industrious, but also cooperative."

Only this cooperation, in spite of restrictions, had maintained our standards of life. Examining the effects of armament programmes, he concluded:

"By no sleight of hand can any generation escape paying the cost

(Continued from page 1, col. 4)

partment stores, get through the Customs with much greater ease than any other foreign goods."

PEACE PROPOSALS

It is perhaps, hardly surprising that Britain should have put forward a proposal that Japanese and Chinese troops should be withdrawn from the Shanghai neighbourhood, with foreign Powers asuming responsibility for the maintenance of order and the safety of Japanese and other residents.

This proposal was, however, rejected by the Japanese authorities, although it was reported that this decision might be reconsidered later.

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of its own wars and preparations for war—and it may also leave a legacy of debt to the future."

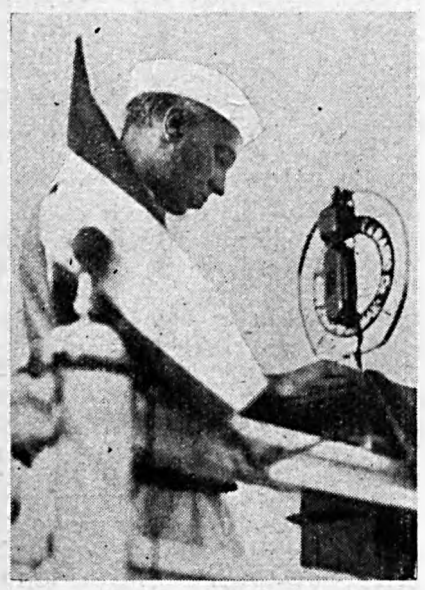
A question to Mr. Rothstein elicited the acknowledgment that the success of "regional pacts" (whereas the Covenant had failed) would depend on their being linked to the "interests" of the Powers concerned. Even Sir Norman Angell, in the lecture already mentioned, occasionally sounded as if he were speaking for the P.P.U. "The Peace Front," he said, "involves offering a means of obtaining justice without aggression."

He referred with respect to "Dick" Sheppard and his followers: "Sometimes I feel in my heart that that is my position." Finally, Mr. Konni Zilliacus, as chairman of the last meeting, declared, "The League is a ruin; but sooner or later we are going to stop the drift to war and start building up the League again. Then we shall need the help of every decent human being."

My impression is that the time is coming for a union of forces in a genuine peace front on the only possible basis of a renunciation of war. Much interesting information has been given at this conference on the constructive aspect of the League's work, its health services, its legal and information sections, work which we do not perhaps sufficiently appreciate.

Why Congress Will Work New Indian Constitution

REASONS for members of the Congress Party accepting office under the new Indian Constitution were discussed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,



Jawaharlal Nehru

the Congress leader, at a large meeting in Bombay recently.

"Congressmen have gone into the enemy's camp not for the sake of the loaves and fishes of office," he said, "but in order to expose the fact that nowhere in the new Constitution is there real autonomy. . . . **Within the narrow possibilities of this Constitution Ministers will do good to the peasants and workers, try to strengthen the people and make their voices heard."**

Pandit Nehru also warned socialists that if they merely "criticized the Congress Ministers for not doing this and not doing that," they "would only be giving an opportunity for the British Government to throw the blame on the Congress Ministries for unemployment, poverty, commercial bankruptcy, industrial impoverishment, and agricultural distress."

The acceptance of office was not the end of the freedom struggle, he continued. The real fight had not begun, and these were only preparations.

CONGRESS BUDGET

The Congress Finance Minister last week introduced the first Bombay Budget under Provincial Autonomy.

The Budget provides for the remaining six months of the financial year, and contains no new taxation. Savings have been made in salaries of Ministers and Parliamentary office-bearers, and in officials' travelling and other allowances. New expenditure on a moderate scale is proposed, to provide the commencement of Congress projects which are to be developed later.

Reflections and Comments on

THIS ARMS RACE FOLLY

By Lord Ponsonby

HAVING read of the devastating attack on Guernica from the air, I was studying the news with regard to the havoc and loss of over a thousand lives by the dropping of bombs on Shanghai, while, in the course of half an hour, nineteen aeroplanes passed over my house with a deafening throbbing drone.

In another paragraph I read of the enormous order for arms accepted by the Skoda works in Czechoslovakia and the refusal of our own armament firms to accept any of it owing to the pressure of arms manufacture here.

I forget who it was who said that some of the planets were probably inhabited by intelligent beings and that our little earth constituted the lunatic asylum of the universe. He was not far wrong.

Nevertheless it is depressing to think that in the second quarter of the twentieth century the hectic and extravagant piling up of the latest and continually improved engines of destruction for use by land, sea, and air appears to be the only point in international affairs upon which the governors of the world are all agreed.

WHAT continues to amaze me is that, while we are condemned as unpractical idealists of no account, the practical statesmen who govern us should so completely fail to see that:

1. No high purpose can be served and no good object secured by the achievement of even complete victory by means of the wholesale destruction of large populations, towns, and national monuments.
2. The vast expenditure required depletes the resources of the nation, and the first duty of reconstruction at home and the improvement of social conditions is prevented or severely hampered.
3. So-called defence against air attack is considered so problematic as to make each government fall back on the expedient of defence by the threat of retaliation.
4. Competition is stimulated because every increase on one side produces an increase on the other side.
5. The necessary and inevitable militarizing of a nation is the surest way of weakening democracy.
6. Fear is engendered in all quarters and declarations by governments that they want peace are falsified and recognized as insincere.
7. International negotiations for the settlement of disputes are rendered abortive so long as each representative can threaten to play the war card.
8. It is an unjustifiable pretence to encourage the assumption that by vast armaments complete security can be obtained.
9. The smaller nations are being misled into the belief that we shall come to their rescue whenever they are attacked.
10. As the hideous though futile barbarity of modern warfare is fully recognized, a government which eagerly prepares to participate in it cannot gain ultimately either the confidence or the respect of the people.

These are only the more obvious considerations and by no means cover the whole ground. More points outlining alternative constructive proposals could be added.

But it is useless to talk about **construction** while **destruction** is forced on popular attention. In any case the two aims cannot be pursued simultaneously.

SOME may say that the most remarkable element in the present disastrous drift is the acquiescence of the people.

I would respectfully point out that we have no proof whatever that the great majority of the people are agreeably acquiescent. As no political party has adopted a firm attitude of protest and opposition, the by-elections are fought on a patriotic appeal on the one side and qualified acquiescence and confused criticism on the other.

The amazing meetings of the P.P.U. show the serious depth of the uncompromising opposition. But no articles in the leading London and provincial newspapers ever indicate that such opinion exists, or if it ever forces itself to the front it is easy enough to cast ridicule personally on "a few cranks."

Moreover, authority knows well enough that studiously, carefully, and methodically to ignore us is far more effective than to attack or to attempt to suppress us.

SO we can continue not only undismayed but encouraged, knowing that the less we are talked about the more "dangerously" successful are we considered to be.

Permeation can be more successful than well advertised declaration. Peaceful penetration has been found to be a method of secret aggression far more effective and more difficult to deal with than military attack. The oriental method of "bazaar gossip" can rouse a people more surely than newspaper injunctions which they do not read.

So the influence of an active P.P.U. group vibrating further than it can know may be a more effective factor in the gradual shaping of public opinion than the leading article in the newspaper with a large circulation.

I once said to a very prominent American Press magnate: "Are people influenced the way you want by the articles in your many papers or do they react against them?" He smiled and said "I don't know."

Arthur Ponsonby

Students of Many Lands Meet to Tackle Peace Problems

STUDENTS' Associations of 25 lands announced their intention to participate in the International Conference of the World Student Association, which opened in Paris on Wednesday and concludes today.

The subjects for discussion at the various sessions were:—

The Right to Education;
The Student and the Nation;
The Student and the International Community; and

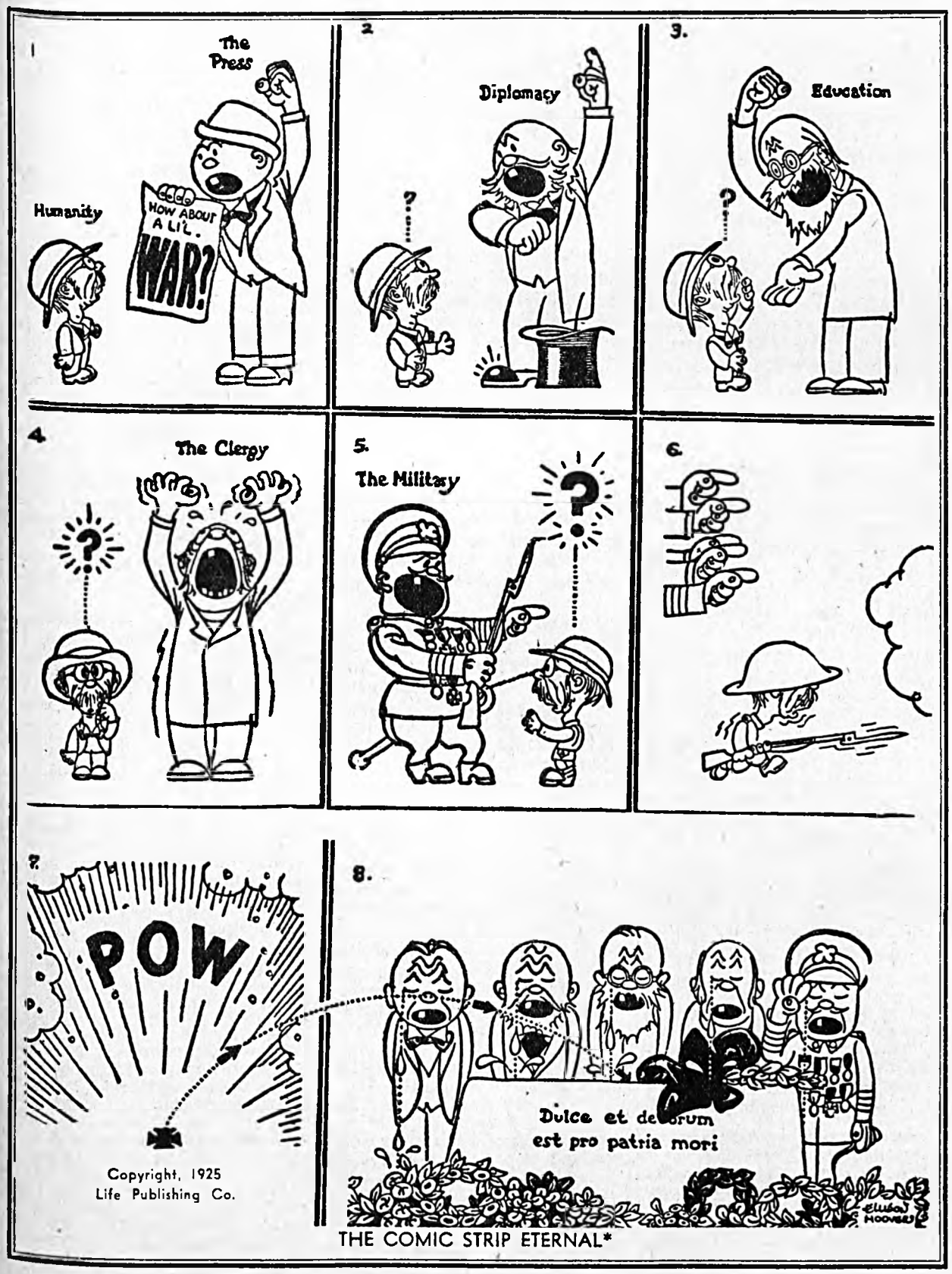
International Coordination of the Student Movement for Peace, Freedom, and Culture.

The World Student Association for Peace, Freedom, and Culture, was founded at the World Student Congress held in Brussels in December, 1934, with the object of furthering co-operation and exchange of information and experiences between the various students' organizations interested in the problems of efforts for the defence of peace, freedom, and culture.

Among the important results achieved since its foundation the association counts the bringing about of cooperation of students in China, India, and Latin-America with others in Europe.

The association publishes a monthly bulletin, *Student Voice*, price 2d., from 1 Cité Paradis, Paris, Xe.

From Boob's Number **LIFE** For January 29, 1925



THE COMIC STRIP ETERNAL*

*??Have you determined not to be caught this way again??

If so, HOW ABOUT THE NEW SLOGANS?

A WAR AGAINST FASCISM? A WAR OF DEFENSE?
ANOTHER WAR TO MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY?

A few months ago we reproduced a leaflet, with a somewhat macabre illustration, used for propaganda purposes in the U.S.A.

Here is a more humorous pictorial leaflet published by the American War Resisters' League.

GREAT WAR VICTIMS STILL BEING FOUND

From Our Special Correspondent

CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

TEN years ago, when speaking in London on behalf of the League of Nations Union, your correspondent could truthfully assert that the number of Britons who fell in the Great War had been assessed at 900,000.

Today he reads with a shock in a local paper, the *Heraldo de Castellon*, that the actual total in round figures is 1,105,000.

The discrepancy is due to the constant discovery of more bodies on the battlefields of France and Belgium.

Nearly 900 more were unearthed during the past twelve months, that is, the nineteenth year after the last shot was fired. The figure seems to include some 340,000 who are still "missing."

"And this," comments the Spanish editor drily, "is the civilization which fascism is defending."

WORLD CONFERENCE OF QUAKERS

"The Individual Christian and the State" and "Methods of Achieving International Justice" are the titles of two of five reports which will be considered by the second world conference of members of the Society of Friends which will meet near Philadelphia, U.S.A., on Wednesday.

The first world conference took place in London in 1920, and the present gathering will be attended by 1,000 members.

On Sunday next, September 5, the BBC will broadcast from Philadelphia an address about the conference by Dr. Rufus M. Jones, the chairman.

American Interest in Peace Pavilion

Conspicuous in the Peace Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition recently have been many groups of American tourists, of whom some have spent hours admiring the work of the Pavilion artists and studying the statistics and diagrams dealing with the havoc of war and the rising tide of determination to build permanently for peace.

The pavilion was built by the International Peace Campaign, which is now at work in 43 countries on a programme of peaceful change through the League of Nations, although this is allied to a system of collective "security."

The American visitors are themselves pressing the I.P.C. officials to launch immediately a series of lectures on the Pavilion in towns throughout America.

They have been greatly impressed by the quality of European peace posters, and especially with the work of Jean Carlu, the famous French artist, and of British artists in the Pavilion.

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Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE

96 Regent Street, W.1.

UNITY is a popular word nowadays. There is talk of unity in the Socialist movement, in the Trade Unions, in the Churches, and in the Peace movement. Yet the strength of each of the movements is sapped by their perpetual internal strifes and disagreements. If the cause of this disagreement is analyzed, it will be found to rest ultimately on one point: is the use of war ever justified or is it always wrong and ineffective? Part of the Socialist movement thinks that in the event of a military rising against an elected progressive Government, that Government is justified in defending itself by force of arms. A section of Church opinion thinks it is right for Christians to fight in defence of their country and a section of the Peace movement thinks it is right to fight against dictatorship countries if they become aggressive.

Until these movements make up their minds on this issue, they have no chance of achieving unity within themselves. I was thinking of this during my unfortunately brief visit to our camp. I felt that I was among a body of people who had taken a positive step forward—who had broken the vicious circle which is leading the Labour Party round to the position where they must support a rearmament programme which they know quite well is leading straight to war. The P.P.U. is not a body of uniform opinion or stereotyped thought. Different shades of opinion on all subjects are represented within our ranks, but we are united by our renunciation of war. Indeed this renunciation of war acts as a catalyst liberating our mental energies for the resolution of social and individual problems.

This is the answer to the people who talk of pacifism as a negative philosophy. We find by experience that in the P.P.U. there is enthusiasm, toleration, and the unity of a common purpose. And this unity could not possibly be achieved on the basis of a decision **not** to renounce war. Non-pacifism is a negative and can only be made into the semblance of a positive by the actual glorification of war and the decision to kill everyone indiscriminately at the earliest opportunity. This is a line of thought which neither the Churches nor the Socialist movement would dream of taking, yet it is the only way to make a positive movement which is not pacifist. It is, of course, the basis of fascism, though dictators find a strong resistance on the part of their peoples to accepting it. And any movement which dislikes the idea of war and violence yet accepts it as an ultimate necessity will inevitably develop a serious neurosis; and unless it eventually resolves its conflict by a complete renunciation of war, it will find itself driven toward fascism in its efforts to persuade the people to accept a type of action which they know to be wrong.

The Notice Board

Collecting boxes for use in raising funds for the P.P.U. are now obtainable from 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Nottingham wants more P.N. sellers on Saturdays and Tuesdays. Please get in touch with Mr. I. Lett, 100 Percival Road, Sherwood, Nottingham.

Group being formed at Blaina. Those interested communicate with R. G. German, Bleak House, Cwnalyn Road, Blaina, Monmouthshire.

Kathleen E. Streatfield, secretary, Chesterfield group, asks for **help from readers who have had experience in running peace stalls.** She would like to know how the stall was set up, the kind of exhibit shown, &c. Write to her at 31 Cobden Road, Chesterfield, Derbyshire.

A Member writes on

COMMUNITIES FOR PACIFISTS

A Result of Swanwick

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

AMONG thinking people there is a widespread desire to see the change-over from the competitive to the cooperative system of living—to see brought into being that unlimited liability society which many of us realize is the ultimate implication of our pacifist faith, where the needs of each are the concern of all and vice versa.

From the deliberations at Swanwick there has issued the decision on the part of a number of people to establish the foundations of a pacifist community on the basis of the foregoing.

From the amount of support and interest already in evidence it may mean the foundation of a number of such communities, each one a step toward the permeation of society as a whole, with the alternative to war-creating competition.

The founding of such communities will give unity and direction to desires already existent and will offer solutions to many of the pressing problems of the immediate situation. To those who have a conscientious objection to armament-making and become unemployed, there will be a ready alternative.

For those who object to paying taxes in support of the present system and who wish to follow a way of life more consistent with their faith, here will be their opportunity.

The communities will be centres to which anyone may go for a short period and experience the joys, the difficulties, the disappointments, and the ultimate triumph of sharing a corporate life. They will be a means of strengthening, in many ways, the war-resistance movement, cutting across many of the tentacles of the all-embracing monster against which we are struggling.

They will be centres of pacifist education, from which apostles of constructive peace may issue forth, and to which, also, the headquarters of the P.P.U. could be transferred, if at any time necessary.

Lastly, should the ultimate catastrophe of world conflict occur, some such community will surely provide the nucleus of the new world. We address this letter to all who are concerned enough to take part in any way in this venture—either by offers of material help or personal participation.

A considerable start has already been made, but all interested are welcome. Inquiries should be addressed to

GEO. H. DIXON.

Dringhoe Grange, Skipsea, Driffield, East Yorkshire.

UNDER THE OAK TREE

By BELLA HOOPER

(On behalf of the Basque Fund.)

THE realization that all the children in England were on holiday resulted in an appeal for a holiday from our children at Basque House. Accordingly lessons have been suspended and the holiday spirit reigns.

On Monday afternoon all the children went to the river to bathe, and excitement ran high throughout the morning. Some of the children had no bathing-costumes, so there was a hurried excursion into Colchester to remedy this. On our return we were greeted with anxious inquiries as to whether we had them, and five minutes later a smiling girl opened her coat to show us a resplendent blue costume underneath.

Tuesday was a red-letter day for 27 of the older children, who went in a bus to Clacton for the day. They spent the morning bathing and playing on the beach, and in the afternoon had a grand time in the Amusement Park, riding round on terrifying Giant Wheels, rowing and riding in motor-boats.

The little ones spent the day in the country surrounding Langham, where they paddled in the river, played games, and had a picnic lunch. Their visit to the sea is to come.

* * * *

One of the most interesting institutions at Basque House is the school choir of boys and girls. The children sing many songs, some of them in three parts, with fine expression and keen delight. One of the girls acts as pianist for the choir, and a very good one she makes, too.

After the choir practice this week, chairs were pushed into the corners of the room and the children all joined in dancing a spirited Jota. Two of the girls dance particularly well and it was a great pleasure to watch their enjoyment in performing a Spanish dance.

* * * *

All the children are very proud of the English they have learnt, and practise it at all times. They are equally eager to teach Spanish to the non-Spanish-speaking people here, and there is one girl (the only girl in the football team, incidentally) who is a born teacher. Not only does she pronounce the new words she is teaching with great distinctness and slowness, but she gives a little test on what she has previously taught. When she is sure that the noun has been mastered, she proceeds to its gender.

* * * *

The most striking thing to a visitor or a newcomer to Basque House is the friendliness of the children here. Every visitor is welcomed with smiles and waves of the hand, and the parting guest has a royal send-off, with "Goodbye, goodbye" from all sides. With complete unselfconsciousness the children accept strangers and, with a natural charm which far exceeds any art, make them welcome. They are almost unfailingly cheerful and always ready to help with any work to be done. Some of them indeed are so zealous that we have to take care that they get a fair share of all the pleasures going, otherwise they would spend too much time helping with the cooking, washing, and cleaning.

* * * *

If there are any kind people who are wondering what they can send us, we should be very grateful for new shoes and for fairly large dolls which the girls can dress, as this is one of their greatest joys.

MORE ABOUT PLAYS

By R. H. WARD

I HAVE spent a good many days lately sitting at a table piled with plays either directly or indirectly concerned with war and peace. Many of them are very good plays indeed; it is clear that there is no shortage of plays worth doing, and no excuse (such as the fact that you have written it yourself) for doing a bad one.

Let us get down to it, then; let us decide to do a play. It needs careful thought, most of all at the beginning. What sort of play do we want to do? What material are we likely to have to work with? How much time? How much money? Yet it is my unpractical and dreamer's belief that the questions of material, time, and finance are comparatively unimportant at this stage: if you are determined to carry a thing out, if your imagination already sees it as a reality; if, as you sit on the beach thinking of an amorphous idea labelled "play," you have a pleasantly exciting impression of the audience (a large one) already assembled, the overture finishing, the curtain going up—then all these other things shall be added unto you. It is imagination that determines all action, all history; the means to the realization of imagination in material fact are forthcoming if that imagination is sufficiently strong and continues to be so. Even the production of a play is a matter of faith. I know you are exclaiming that this is mystical speculation, and you are perfectly right. I know you are enjoining me to come down to the earth and its practical facts, and so I will—next week. Meanwhile, I am merely pointing out that you will do nothing creative (and the production of a play is a creative act) without using the imagination and continuing to use the imagination.

The imagination, having visualized the performance, now turns to the play. All we know is that it is to be a play that pacifists can produce to some purpose, and that it is to be a good play. A play about war, or a play about peace? Obviously, both are useful; but the first kind is negative, however tellingly it destroys the false ideas connected with war and shows up war's futility and shamefulness, while the second kind is positive and constructive. So probably a play about peace is preferable. But I am inclined to suggest, especially for people with little time or experience, a programme of three or four one-acters; these offer several practical advantages—the chance to do something negative and something positive (in that order), something humorous and something tragic; separate casts might be easier to manage; more people would have more to do. On the other hand, for a small group of more experienced actors, a full-length play might be better.

So you set to work to think of all the possible plays that you have seen or read. And here it may be remembered that, on the positive side, come many plays that do not specifically deal with peace, but rather with the moral and spiritual values in humanity that are part of pacifism and of peace; thus the field of choice is widened. There is no room here to offer you a list of plays, whether about war or about peace or about the things that belong to peace; such a list would be long, you probably have better ideas than I have, and, if you haven't, you can always write to me. (We now have a good deal of information here. And in any case, I should like very much to know what you are doing or going to do.)

One word about ambition, which is both friend and foe. Be imaginative, but don't let your imagination run away with you: obviously, an amateur dramatic company with no money to spend and a stage only ten feet square would be foolish to try to

PACIFISTS REPLY TO CRITIC OF GENERAL'S WAR BOOK

Their Own Experience Confirms Its Truth

WHAT A SOLDIER WROTE IN 1917

EX-SERVICE members of the Peace Pledge Union are among those who have replied to the strong criticism of Brigadier-General F. P. Crozier's new book, *The Men I Killed*, expressed by Mr. A. Beverley Baxter, M.P., in the *Sunday Graphic* recently.

One of these members—P. R. Alderman of Carshalton Beeches—concludes his reply to Mr. Beverley Baxter with the hope "that we shall hear less of the sentimental dope which is becoming too common in all walks of life today, and a good deal more of the real truth about war."

Another P.P.U. member—Mr. H. A. Holland of Selsdon—has assured Mr. Baxter that "General Crozier has written a book telling the **truth** about the horrors of war, which undoubtedly included the shooting by their officers of men who were probably suffering from 'shell-shock'."

Both these pacifists write from their own experience of war, and Mr. Holland has sent PEACE NEWS extracts from a letter written in February, 1917, by his brother, who was subsequently killed in action ten days before the Armistice having enlisted in 1914 and been wounded twice.

This letter is of such a nature as to dissipate any false glamour with which the Great War may still be invested.

"FED UP"

"You may think it is due to feeling fed up," says the letter, "but honestly my patriotism, and others' too, is sadly, slowly, and surely being knocked out of me, by our own blessed red-tape heads. **Besides, we who have seen a bit of fighting know the Germans are by no means all cowards, or rotters either, and this makes one wonder why the devil this war should cost millions of lives . . . .**

"Perhaps this is because I am having to go back again, and honestly, though I am not more of a funk than most chaps, I am properly fed up with the whole business.

"Just think: in peace-time, if a man did the greatest wrong possible to you and you killed him, you get hung; yet now, in khaki, one may kill as much as one likes, kill men who may be quite straight, decent men, who have harmed nobody—because there is a war on.

"'Funny argument for a soldier', I suppose you think; yes, it is funny, but don't think I am the only one who thinks the same way as this, for there are many who have said the same.

"Still, it's no good trying to work these puzzles to a logical conclusion, one must do one's best and trust one is doing right, that is all."

(A review of *The Men I Killed* appears on page 8.)

They Showed the Army How!

A LETTER published in the *News Chronicle* recently showed that the propaganda work of members of the Peace Pledge Union at the Tidworth Tattoo did not go unnoticed.

The writer expressed his conviction "that England's future is secure providing the troops can be relied upon to display the same courage as that shown by the pacifists at the gate."

But is it moral courage that the army fosters?

A BETTER WAY THAN ARMS

Mr. Andrew Conley, general secretary of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, declared at Copenhagen last weekend that workers in democratic countries could best help their comrades who had fallen in the fight against fascism by strengthening their own democratic institutions.

He was speaking at the conference of the International Federation of Clothing Workers, whose president, Mr. Josef Andersson, said that the strengthening of political, social, and economic democracy in all countries was a necessary condition of freedom, progress, and social justice.

FRENCH PRESIDENT AND PEACE CONGRESS

The international congress of the Council of the International Peace Bureau, of Geneva, opened in Paris on Tuesday, and will conclude tomorrow.

This is the 32nd in a long series of such congresses, the first of which was held in London in 1843. From 1889 onwards they were held annually, except for a break from 1914 to 1919.

It was expected that a delegation from the conference would be received by the President of the French Republic at the Elysée Palace.

Methodists and a "Frightened World"

WHY NO NATION FINDS PEACE

"WE live in a frightened world," says a Methodist pastoral issued last week for circulation throughout the denomination.

Drawn up by direction of the recent conference at Bradford, and signed by its president, Dr. Robert Bond, the pastoral points out that every nation desires peace, but on its own terms, and that therefore none can find it.

"We build up defences, confessing their futility, and multiplying weapons of which we are ourselves afraid."

Under the challenge of the present situation the conference pledged itself to new beginnings, and called upon Methodists everywhere to join in this new consecration and to be ready for whatever rearrangement of their time and way of life their Christian calling requires.

Italy in Abyssinia

'NO RECOGNITION' PLEA BY CHRISTIANS

THE Rev. A. D. Belden, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dr. Scott Lidgett, Canon Guy Rogers, Dr. A. Maude Royden, and the Rev. Leslie Weatherhead were among the 23 signatories of a letter protesting against any recognition by Britain of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia, published last week.

"Our country is in a pre-eminent measure the trustee for Christian civilization in Africa," they declared.

"In a continent where news travels from mouth to mouth almost as quickly as by wireless, native opinion cannot but be affected most prejudicially both against British rule and against the Christian faith by any weakening on this issue by our Government."

The International Peace Campaign British Committee, which asserts that a proposal to accept Italy's occupation of Abyssinia will be made at the League Assembly, has also urged all cooperating societies to forward resolutions to the Foreign Secretary.

Pattern for a New Economic Order?

THOSE concerned with the need for a new economic order will find much to interest them in the working of Subsistence Production, which is the principal theme of the report, just published by an Order of friends, on its work for the unemployed during 1936.

Experiments in social and reconstructional work carried out in Brynmawr, South Wales, and Upholland, Lancashire, convinced the organizers that the case of the older unemployed in certain areas called for exceptional treatment.

The Order has organized a number of these men in societies, the members of which produce a very wide range of commodities for the exclusive use of their own households. No wages are paid, but members remain eligible for unemployment assistance and buy back the goods produced at prices which exclude labour costs, selling expenses, and the allocation to profits of ordinary industry.

Membership of the Societies is voluntary and the men themselves exercise a real measure of control.

Subsistence Production was commenced at Upholland, in 1934, by a group of thirteen men. The membership of the two societies now established numbers nearly 700. They are centred in Cwmavon, Monmouthshire, and in the district surrounding Wigan. Land, stock, premises, and machinery having been acquired, it has been possible greatly to increase the range of commodities produced.

EFFECTS OF THE SCHEME

Three important results of Subsistence Production are:—

The men and their families secure more, and a greater variety of food and other commodities than they have had for many years.

Their food is of a higher quality and purity. The children can have a sufficiency of excellent milk instead of condensed milk in minute quantities.

The men learn to think constructively. Their "grudge" against society disappears. Their whole outlook on life is changed.

Any scheme is costly in its experimental stages, since all the problems to be solved are new. Experience has now been gained which not only provides a framework on which this work can be expanded, but which will enable its cost to be progressively reduced.



One of the many commodities produced.

Requests that Subsistence Production should be commenced in other parts of the country have been received, not only from members of Parliament and persons and organizations engaged in social service, but most significantly also from groups of the unemployed themselves in other parts of the Distressed Areas.

Money is needed for this, however.

Copies of the report may be obtained from an Order of friends, Deristone, Chapel Road, Abergavenny.

Once you have determined to do a play for peace, once you have made a list of possibilities (either from your own knowledge or with help from us or from publishers' catalogues), then the practical business starts. Next week we shall come down from the skies (but still endeavouring to trail on earth our clouds of glory) and discuss committees, finance, and all that.

produce *Chu Chin Chow*. On the other hand, don't go to the other extreme and do something easy just because it is easy; cut your coat according to your cloth, but remember that cloth will stretch; do something sufficiently difficult to bring out the best in you, be ingenious and cunning and patient. In fact, be ambitious, but be sensible.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

August 28, 1937

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

AFTER Guernica, Tientsin. The centre of public interest—so far as wars and rumours of wars are concerned—shifts from the fate of Madrid to that of Shanghai, where the evacuation of European and American residents in threatening circumstances lends "human interest" to an increasingly inhuman struggle.

Almost as though they were hypnotized into helplessness people watch the progress of this latest outbreak of a sickness which afflicts the body corporate of mankind. Its very geographical remoteness is inclined to rob them of any feeling of responsibility. Yet uneasily they wonder, "Where next? When will it be our turn?" In such a situation much depends on those who can diagnose the illness. The analogy is apt, for the sickness of the world, like much of that to which human flesh is heir, is the outcome of a wrong way of life.

The two have other points of resemblance: they make those whom they afflict the victims of distressing delusions. Already we are taught that Spaniards are no longer all human: they are either fascists or democrats, one human and one sub-human, according to one's sympathies. We may yet be told—and that right soon, if Japan should try to replace European domination of part of China by Japanese domination of a larger part—that the Japanese are a naturally warlike people devoid of all the essential attributes of humanity.

But would-be doctors must ignore the delirium, and must treat the disease of which it is a symptom, ere all of us become victims of the next general outbreak. We point out in this issue the practical implications of that task, but it must be added that although the statesmen of the British Empire have by implication acknowledged their ability to make a considerable contribution toward a lessening of the tension in the Pacific which lies behind present events, it is useless for anyone to expect them to do more without the certainty that public opinion demands it.

Our way of life as a nation has been the fashionable one, the way that leads to war, for others if not for ourselves. Britain, by reason of her influence in world affairs, is in a position to lead others toward a way of living together that could bring peace and sanity, in the Far East as much as anywhere. That, however, involves as a preliminary a renunciation of the way of war by the individual. Whether or not he is actually making munitions he is **not** helpless, for it is in his power to forswear the way of conflict. This individual renunciation is the foundation on which alone we can build if we see these recent massacres as something more significant than isolated events.

Double-mindedness in Religion and Politics—2

By LAURENCE HOUSMAN

LET us consider the effect of double-mindedness in religion.

I do not know whether we should all agree which are the great Religions of the world today. It is quite possible that what have been the greatest Religions in the past have been so undermined by the disloyalty and half-heartedness of their followers that greatness no longer belongs to them. But at least in their inception, it may, I think, be said that the great Religions of the past were, both in the persons and the teachings of their Founders, single-minded and whole-hearted.

I do not know enough about Mohammedanism to speak with full confidence about its teaching or the personality of its Founder; but its aspect in the days of its great uprising to strength was not that of a Faith that was either half-hearted or double-minded. With more certainty of knowledge can one affirm of Buddha and of Christ that, both in their personality and in their teaching, they were absolutely single-minded; and that only those who are single-minded in the way, the truth, and the life, as taught by them, can be regarded as faithful followers.

That is not to say that those who would be faithful followers do not often fall far short of what they know to be true. We are very imperfect in the works by which we bear witness to our faith. But there is one thing which the faithful will never do; he will not (as a cover and justification of his deficiencies) say that wrong is *right*, or stain the character of his Founder by imputing to Him a double-mindedness alien alike to His character and to His teaching.

Can anyone here suppose for a moment that, had Christ been double-minded (as the Bishops of the Church of England are double-minded today) He would have made the mark on history that He has made? If Christ had said to His followers, "Do to your neighbour as *he* would do to you," or "as he *has* done to you," He would only have been reiterating the old Mosaic law of retaliation—"an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

He would then have been adopting the double-minded position of saying that however good you are (or may think yourself)—however just and merciful and long-suffering—if your neighbour is unjust and unmerciful and intolerant, you are to take over his code, and do like *him:* that if your neighbour does you an ill turn, or sets up his interests against yours, you must then turn from love, and service, and conciliation, and accept hatred, rivalry, violence, and revenge as your rule of life.

But if you do accept that principle (so contrary to the principle of Christ) must you then cover it up in fair words, and say, in the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "The use of the sword by the State is the ministry of God for the protection of the people?"—a phrase which now means so little, for today, when you say "the sword," you really mean the massacre, by bomb and poison-gas, of whole populations, men, women, and children—thousands of them, helpless and guiltless, having had no part whatever in the evil against which you are retaliating.

And so, for weak conscience's sake, you cover that act of gross and shameful injustice with pretty phrases, "the sword," and "the ministry of God," and pretend, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has pretended, that it has the countenance of Christ.

Not many months ago, there was a massacre of a helpless population at Guernica, and the head of the Established Church in this country denounced it in the House of Lords for its fundamental injustice—the wreaking of punishment, not on the guilty, but on the innocent; yet it is to that same process of wreaking punishment, *not* on the guilty, but on the innocent (which is the essential feature of modern war), to which he is prepared to give his blessing when this country indulges in it, though he condemns it in others.

I say that that is a degree of double-mindedness fatal to Christianity if Christians accept it, and shameful for the head of the Church to utter, whatever camouflage of fair words he may choose to cover it.

How did this double-mindedness obtain so large a hold on a religion such as Christianity, in which the teaching of its Founder lays so great a stress on the importance of the single mind? One could quote many of Christ's sayings in support of that statement; one alone is sufficient:—"The light of the body is the eye; if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light; but if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" And this is followed by the words: "No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon."

There plainly, as the single eye is essential for man's enlightenment, so is the double eye contrary and evil, a darkener of counsel; and I believe that the falling away of institutional Christianity from the simplicity and singleness of Christ's teaching is due to the exaltation (not only in the Christian religion perhaps, but in other religions as well) of creed above conduct.

It is quite evident that the creeds and the dogma of the Christian Church have not prevented those who hold them with implicit faith from being cruel, persecuting, revengeful, and ambitious in things worldly as well as spiritual. So much has the history of Christendom been coloured and stained by these contradictions of the teaching of Christ, that in the acts and conduct of Christian nations towards each other, or of Christian society toward its divisions of class, there has been no discernible difference from the acts and conduct of the followers of other religions. Christians have been just as cruel to Christians as pagans to pagans, both nationally, juridically, and individually. Belief in a creed has not made men just or merciful; and in the Christian Church's interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount—a sermon which throughout deals definitely with the conduct of man toward his fellow-man here and now, and that conduct based on single-mindedness—it has picked out and insisted upon for literal interpretation only one of all those rules of life which Christ laid down—the one dealing with divorce—and has belittled, ignored, or evaded all the others.

(To be concluded.)

SPARS FOR THE PLATFORM

Fascism

LAST week on our front page we showed how anti-fascists who engaged in armed struggle with fascist forces rendered inevitable the adoption of fascist measures by themselves. The following words of Major General Sir C. W. Gwynn in the *Morning Post* recently confirm the truth of this:—

Our organization for direction of war effort may be, and we hope is, not so hopelessly unprepared and inadequate as it was in 1914. But the efficiency of a democratic government as the ultimate controlling authority must always rest under suspicion, and its liability to produce divergent opinions and amateurish projects has certainly not diminished as the means of waging war have increased in number under modern conditions.

Incidentally, they provide one more confirmation of the fact that "democratic" Britain is preparing for war.

All at Sea

SIDELIGHTS on the progress of the naval arms race:—

Britain: By the end of this year 664,000 tons of warships will be under construction for the navy. This figure is believed to constitute a record for peace time.—*Daily Telegraph*, August 5, 1937.

Italy: In the presence of the King and Queen, Italy's first 35,000 ton battleship, the Vittorio Veneto, was launched here this morning. Signor Gayda points out that four other big battleships have been remodernized and will be commissioned soon.—*Manchester Guardian*, July 26, 1937.

Germany now has under construction and projected 63 vessels.—*Morning Post*, February 27, 1937.

France: It has fallen to the first socialist Prime Minister to approve a programme increasing the French naval strength by 45 percent. The new programme is to be explained first by German naval construction; secondly by Signor Mussolini's decision to build two 35,000 ton battleships, and thirdly to uncertainty as to the future of Spain.—*Morning Post*, January 30, 1937.

It is worth while recalling that, when discussing the question of naval strength a few months ago, *The Times* admitted that **"the only definite result of unrestricted naval competition was that naval costs continually mounted for all alike."**

Aerial Suicide

THE absolute lunacy of the notion that any defence against aerial attack can be offered to the populations of large cities has been shown time and time again.

The latest instance is Shanghai, where aeroplanes in action against Japan's warships and guns **had their bomb-racks so damaged that the bombs released themselves, descending upon places which had never been intended.**

Thus the surest way to get yourself bombed seems to be to use an anti-aircraft gun against the bombing planes.

"How Long . . . ?"

HIGH explosive bombs are not, of course, used in modern war—or so one would think to read the air raid "precautions" handbooks.

Here again, however, Shanghai provides an eye-opener, as is shown by the following extract from *The Times* of August 16:—

What happened in Shanghai yesterday within the space of a few minutes has, perhaps, never been paralleled elsewhere. It was a demonstration of the murderous power of modern aerial bombs.

Twenty bombs were discharged by Chinese aeroplanes, killing 1,047 people and wounding about 1,000, many of them grievously. The nearest bomb landed 600 yards from its objective. . . . From one aeroplane two bombs were seen to drop where Tibet Road crosses Avenue Edward VII, the boundary between the International Settlement and the French Concession. There followed immediately a huge belch of red flame and a tremendous explosion. These two bombs killed 450 persons and wounded 850, including five foreigners. They also destroyed twelve motor-cars.

Later another pair of bombs were dropped between the Cathay Hotel and the Palace Hotel, which stand opposite each other where Nanking Road, the main thoroughfare in the International Settlement, joins the Bund. These bombs killed and wounded hundreds more, including about twelve foreigners. . . . The bombs, believed to have weighed approximately 1,000 lbs., exploded on impact, with the result that they smashed everything within a radius of fifty yards. Most of the bodies of the victims were completely stripped of their clothes and were torn to pieces.

How long before "civilized" governments think about doing away with the conditions that lead to air bombing?

"Rearmament"

PROTESTS at the Government's huge arms programme are not confined any longer to pacifist and left-wing speakers. The following is an extract from the Federation of British Industries Business Barometer for the third quarter of 1937:

The choice before most countries today appears to be between allowing armaments to grow at the expense of civil industry or relaxing the pressure to increase armaments. Only the latter can provide a way of escape from the vicious circle which threatens their peoples with a further limitation of personal freedom and the impoverishment of their standard of life.

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

A Weekly Commentary — By J. Middleton Murry

A Frightened World or a Frightened Church?

AN important Methodist pastoral, I gather from *The Times* of August 19, has just been issued, which begins with these words. "We live in a frightened world. Every nation dreads war and drifts into it; every nation desires peace, but peace on its own terms, and therefore none can find it. We build up defences, confessing their futility, and multiply the weapons of which we are afraid." And to remedy this condition it calls for the recovery of "faithful habits of communion with God," and the reconstitution of Christian fellowship on the basis of "a common experience and a common enterprise."

As ever today, I find a hiatus between the disease and the remedy. What is this "common enterprise" to which Christians are dedicated today? Does it mean, for the Methodist, for example, to do as Methodists before them have done? Or for the Catholic to do as Catholics before them; or for the Anglican to do as the Anglican has done? If indeed it means no more than that, what hope is there of remedy for the world's disease? For it is because professing Christians, of all persuasions, have done what they have done in the past that the world stands where it does. And it is because the common man senses this failure that the churches have to confess to a record of steadily diminishing appeal.

It is no good calling for a revival of religion, or recalling men to Christianity unless it means something in the way of actual behaviour that is essentially different from the behaviour of the average man. For it is the behaviour of the average man that has brought civilization to the condition it is in today. Mere Church-going is no such essential difference in the behaviour of the average man as is required if the remedy is to be adequate to the disease. That is not to suggest that Christian worship is unnecessary. But obviously, unless it is the inspiration of actual behaviour which is of a kind that does directly combat the drift toward the self-devastation of the world, Christian worship becomes totally irrelevant to human life in so far as it is the life of society.

Christian worship means many things, no doubt; and I believe I set a value on all of them; but it has always seemed to me that the essence of *Christian* worship was the re-dedication of oneself, through communion with Christ, to His service—to the effort to follow His example. Worship in a Christian Church may be a beautiful and satisfying thing, either intrinsically or for the sense of oneness and community it engenders; but unless it is consummated in the re-dedication of oneself to the effort of following His example, it may be worship sure enough, but it is not Christian worship. There may be religion, genuine religion, practised in a Christian Church; but without this consummation it is not the Christian religion.

Here, quite simply, appears the crux of the matter. Without this final self-dedication, worship in Christian Churches, even if it be revived, will remain, as it has been these many years, irrelevant to the behaviour of men in society. And, at bottom, it is because men and women feel this irrelevance that they turn away from the Christian Churches. And yet, potentially, no institution existing in the modern world could be so directly relevant to the universal malady of today as the Christian Church. To say "potentially" is to understate the fact. No institution in the world is so committed by its own profession as the Christian Church directly to combat the world-sickness. There is, indeed, only one institution that is thus committed: and it is the Christian Church.

That, too, men feel. Men today feel many things of which they can give no conscious account to themselves; and this, I think, is one of the deepest of them. They feel two things: first, that it is only the Christian Church that can save them, because it was designed to save them; and, second, they feel that the Christian Church is making no attempt to save them, because it is afraid, and afraid in precisely the same way as they themselves are afraid. Instead of having less fear than they, it has the same fear.

"We live in a frightened world," says the Methodist pastoral. It is terribly true. But is it not still more terribly true that we live with a frightened Church? And is not the deep and inarticulate desire of men today for a Christian Church that is not afraid, as they are afraid. The common man shrinks from the doctrine of losing his life to save it. Such a teaching is not easy or natural to man. But to the Christian Church it should be easy, or if not easy, a doctrine for which it has always been prepared. "He that will lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's the same shall save it." The Christian Church has always professed loyalty to that doctrine. It has always known, or always professed to know, that the time would come when that simple sacrifice would be demanded of it. But now that the time has come, it is as frightened and cowardly as the men and women it claims to save. Now that the condition of the world really does demand the simple Christian heroism to which each Christian man dedicates himself anew when he partakes in Christian worship, to which each Christian priest is dedicated by profession, the Church fades away. Of the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of Man, it knows nothing when it comes to the pinch. Though it has in its keeping—and has had for nineteen hundred years—the only doctrines that can save the world, it cannot utter them. And sometimes, when I consider the fearful dumbness of the Christian Church today, I find a grim new meaning in the parable of the Wedding Garment. "Friend, how camest thou hither? And he answered not a word."

Recent Publications

General Crozier "Debunks" Defence

THE MEN I KILLED, by Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier. Michael Joseph. 8s. 6d.

IT will be easy for those who do not agree with General Crozier to condemn this book out of hand, to say that it is repetitive and emotional, that its author lacks logic, tolerance, and objectivity.

It is generally easy to dismiss in this way a sincere and impassioned book. On the other hand *The Men I Killed* is precisely the sort of book that a certain large section of the public needs.



Brig-Gen. F. P. Crozier

For there are those who cannot hear when the sweet reasonableness of constructive thought and quiet expression speaks alone, and it is these who hear too readily the hypocritical and specious unreason of governments and newspapers whose loud shouting would rush them panic-stricken into the false security of "defence" measures and into herd-actions which are dangerous and reactionary. This same section, offered the impassioned utterances of a really sincere and disinterested writer, will listen and listen profitably.

For this reason, *The Men I Killed* **is perhaps the best piece of anti-recruiting, anti-air raid "precautions" and anti-archbishop propaganda that we have so far received.**

It is true that General Crozier is no prose stylist, no logician, and no intellectual in his approach to pacifism; but he would never claim to be anything other than a soldier who has become a pacifist because he is a man of feeling and good will.

His least satisfactory chapters are the early ones, concerned with the World War and the years succeeding it; they are often as confused as the events and circumstances they describe.

"STATE CHURCHIANITY"

But he is excellent when he writes of the nincompoopery, the humbuggery. the pettifoggery, and the "General Blimpery" of the High Command. These are things of which he can speak with authority and things of which the public should know.

He is better still on the "defence" racket, and he is best of all on what he so aptly calls "State Churchianity." These chapters could only have been written by a brave man and a good-hearted man who knows more of the meaning of Christianity than his modesty will allow him to admit, and more of hypocrisy in high places than will conduce to the spiritual comfort of our prelates.

Perhaps *The Men I Killed* offers us little that is new: we have heard much of the necessary change of heart; but we have not yet heard enough of it, considering that it is our only hope of changing history.

Nor can we build the New Jerusalem until we have cleared the ground. It is the parade-ground, we are happy to predict, that this book will do much to clear. Reading it, we shed a compassionate tear or two for Mr. Hore-Belisha.

R.H.W.

"Mass-Observation" Results

A THOUSAND MASS-OBSERVERS. "Mass-Observation." 6 Grotes Buildings, London, S.E.3. 1d.

We have previously commented in these columns on the aims of "Mass-Observation."

This pamphlet sets out these aims in a clear and concise manner and gives particulars of the methods employed. The principal study of the organization at the moment is stated as "the impact of society on the individual."

With this pamphlet we have also received a mimeographed bulletin of the day-survey for July 12 giving extracts from reports by 200 observers.

From these reports it is evident that the observational faculties of the operators are improving with practice. One cannot but feel, however, that if these faculties were turned inward and employed for self-analysis instead of being directed to the ephemeral trivialities of the environment, the weaknesses of character which produce social and international unrest would be brought to light and would then be well on the way to elimination.

The experiment is yet young and we shall watch its development with interest.

F.S.

Anglo-German Relations Since the Great War

BRITAIN FACES GERMANY. A. L. Kennedy. Jonathan Cape. 5s.

Reviewed by Roy Sherwood.

HERE is a well presented account of the different phases through which Europe has passed since 1919 and of the events which have led up to the present tension between Germany and Great Britain. In this, more than in complications with Italy, the author sees the greatest immediate threat to peace.

A journalist of international experience and former assistant foreign editor of *The Times*, he writes throughout as an enlightened, progressive Conservative. But he cannot shake himself free into completely objective perception and expression.

Within the first few pages of his book he revives the war-abusive term "Hun."

True, it is here softened down into "descended from the Huns," but he can hardly not know that the Germans shared the misfortune of Hun invasion with a good many other Continental countries, to whose populations the term is never applied although they were under Hun dominance more extensively and for much longer a time than the Germans. Did the Huns' biology fail there?

And when he devotes a whole page to the meaning of the German word *vertrag* and more particularly *ver*, why did no sense of fairness whisper to him to remember that *sich vertragen* means "to get on with each other"?

It will also come as a surprise to many people to hear that Crewe House propaganda during the war was entirely based upon truth, the more so since the statement is made within two pages of the admission that M. Clemenceau, for one, must have kept his tongue in his cheek when he accepted Wilson's Fourteen Points. Were there no tongues in any Crewe House cheeks?

Despite many instances of similar self-righteousness, the events are allowed to tell their own story, and the feeble tenacity with which successive foreign secretaries have hung on to the coat tails of successive occupants of the *Fauteuil Ministériel* at the Quai d'Orsay is well brought out and suitably condemned.

The writer's conclusion is that direct negotiation with Germany to make now the kind of peace we ought to have made in 1919, is imperative.

Many roads lead to Rome.

IN YOURS, TOO?

CANTERBURY, New Zealand, has now followed the lead of Auckland and Wellington in displaying PEACE NEWS in its public library.

At home, since we published our last list of libraries displaying PEACE NEWS, we have been notified of its entry into libraries at **Aberdeen, Edinburgh,** and **Maidenhead,** making a total of 220.

MR. ATTLEE'S CONFUSED PERSPECTIVE

by

Cecil H. Wilson, M.P.

THE position of a party leader is never a very happy one, and Mr. Attlee, the leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, doubtless found himself in some difficulty in writing his new book *The Labour Party in Perspective.**

But when he proceeds to point out how illogical we pacifists are, his perspective, if it were not so serious a matter, would be indescribably funny. What he does is to compare a police force with a fully equipped army.

Now, "force" has more than one meaning—the "force" of public opinion is a very different thing from the "force" of any angry mob; the "force" of the tides from the "force" of a tidal wave; the "force" of hydraulic pressure properly applied from the "force" of a reservoir of water if the embankment gives way.

There is all the difference between "force" and "violence." "Force" in the above cases may result in something constructive and useful, or in something destructive and harmful.

One of the main duties of the police is to prevent destruction and harm—if any member of the force exercises violence he is always liable to be called upon to answer to his superiors or to a committee appointed indirectly by the public.

An important part of military training consists in instructions as to methods of violence best calculated to effect the maximum destruction of life and property. And any member of the fighting forces who is not prepared to do that is not only of no use, but if he does it is regarded as doing a great service to mankind.

But there is another rather important difference, for a member of a police force is expected to deal with cases of theft, some of them of a very minor kind, and if he is himself suspected or detected in committing them he is dismissed the force, whereas members of the fighting forces must defend all parts of the British Empire, a very considerable part of which has been stolen by violence from the people to whom it rightly belonged.



Mr. C. R. Attlee

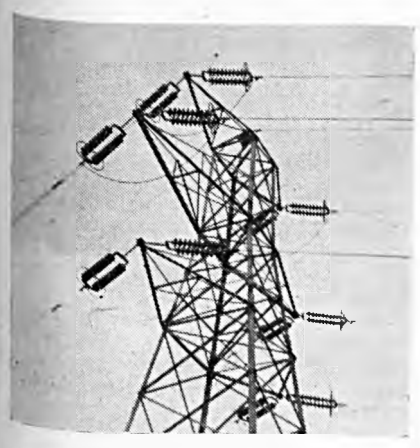
If a starving mother takes a bottle of milk from a doorstep, the police arrest her, but use no violence, **but if a military force in order to obtain an objective destroy by violence the only food supply of a tribe of helpless natives, we are told that they are advancing civilization.** As pacifists we must be clear in our thinking and ever ready to deal with the spurious statements of those who trust in violence.

* *Gollancz, 7s. 6d.*

What is the pacifist attitude to events in Spain to-day?
READ
"SPAIN, A CHALLENGE TO PACIFISM"
(Price 2d.)
By **H. RUNHAM BROWN**
Obtainable from:
The War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex
or
The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1

JACK HOYLAND tells how you can help to overcome

WAR CONDITIONS in our COAL MINES



Even this age of electric power depends on . . .

I HAVE recently returned from a visit to a mining village in South Wales.

The local pits have a bad record for accidents. Deaths are frequent, and it is often the men of rescue parties who are killed.

During the week I was there eight men were injured, in a series of minor accidents, at the nearest pit. One man whom I met had been long unemployed, but had recently got back to work. He had suffered three separate injuries in the course of fourteen working days.

I was engaged, with a team of students, in helping a group of unemployed men who are starting a small-holding association on a steep and rocky mountain side. Forty percent of the men were more or less crippled.

The man in whose home I was staying had lately become affected by a serious internal complaint as a result of his work underground, and was faced by the necessity of choosing whether to continue in work, with the certainty that his complaint would become worse (but with the prospect of continuing to earn 58s. a week), or becoming unemployed, with the certainty that he would never be able to get work again (and with the prospect of 33s. a week on the dole).

★

ONE day during our stay the eldest son of one of the housekokis in which we were billeted came home from the pit with his coat soaked in blood.

He had been walking to the pit-bottom, after his shift was ended, with three mates. Suddenly the roof had come down. As soon as the dust cleared, he had started working feverishly to get his groaning companions out from under the fall.

One had a fractured thigh (and will probably never be able to work underground again); one a fractured skull; and the third a broken arm. One of these men has since died.

In such cases the rescuers seem to have no thought of the great danger which they incur from a continuation of the fall.

Speeding up

We were told of the death of a boy of 14½. And we talked to the brother of a man whose nerves had given way under the strain of underground work, with the result that it had been necessary to "put him away" in an asylum.

We heard innumerable complaints of the "drive" which of recent years has evidently become much more severe in underground work, especially in connexion with the introduction of coal-cutting and coal-conveying machinery. The men with whom we talked all complained that the noise made by these machines renders it impossible to hear the slight cracking noises in the roof which prelude a fall.

They also complained that what used to be a skilled craft—the hewing of coal—has become "slave's work," the monotonous shovelling of ever-increasing quantities of coal on to conveyor-belts. They believed that there is a tendency to use the labour of lads more and more for this purpose, and to discharge them when they become old enough to earn a man's wage.

They complained also of the failure of the management to take such elementary precautions as the fitting of a new "balance rope," to connect the bottoms of the two cages, when the old one was no longer serviceable: and of the abandonment of the old principle that in the event of a fatal accident in the pit no more work is done that shift.

★

WE heard, of course, many accounts of hardships due to the operation of the Means Test, the incidence of which seems to be much more severe in South Wales than in other parts of the country, owing to the joint-family system which is still vigorously in existence in Wales.

In one case which came to our notice a man had incurred a great deal of expense in putting his son through a year's apprenticeship, but none the less was docked of his benefit under the Means Test as soon as the boy started earning.

I especially remember a talk with one old age pensioner who had started work in the pit at the age of seven.

Buried Alive

When he was eight he had been buried under a fall for two hours. One could faintly imagine the horror of fear and pain in which the small boy had spent those hours and what he had felt when at last he heard his father's voice in the rescue party.

In a recent colliery disaster, after an explosion, some thirty men ran a mile to safety at the pit bottom. Arriving there exhausted, they found that three of their comrades were not with them.



. . . COAL— —and the coal miner

Immediately the whole group retraced their steps to the danger-point and found their three mates dead.

Then came another explosion and twenty-four of the rescuers were killed.

★

THIS spirit of comradeship, of courage, and of self-sacrifice is characteristic of the coal miner.

His arduous and exceedingly dangerous labour is essential to the daily functioning of every branch of our civilization. It is constantly true of him that "this is my Body broken for you."

As he falls out of employment it becomes more and more needful that the rest of the community, which has profited so greatly by his work, should aid him in the courageous efforts which he is making to re-start life for himself on the land.

In the small-holding association which we have been helping (one of those under the ægis of the Land Settlement Association), a group of men, many of them crippled, are working with splendid courage and comradeship in order to bring a desolate hillside under cultivation.

They are doing this as a collective enterprise of self-help. Every knotty bracken-root which they drag up: every jagged rock which they pound to pieces, means something done toward the building of a new world, and toward the rescuing (by collective self-help) of the precious human material which has been regarded as waste and useless.

Anything that can be done to help so courageous an enterprise is abundantly worth while.

Is there a possibility that members of P.P.U. groups, realizing the cost of coal measured in human values, and the war conditions under which this essential of our civilization is won, may feel called upon to go to help with their hard digging the disabled members of such unemploye miners' allotment and small-holdin associations?

There is always a considerable proportion of the men in such associations who are unable to work their own plots.

Such work, done in the spirit of true friendship, might build reconciliation in situations of embittered estrangement, and prove (incidentally) that we are not merely pious self-perfectionists, or negative abstainers from war, but builders of peace.

I shall be glad to give further information to anyone interested who writes to me at Work Camp Information, Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham, 29.

Have you heard of

FERDINAND LASALLE?

From a Correspondent

A REFORMER of whom little is heard nowadays is Ferdinand Lasalle, described as the founder of German socialism.

Probably that is because the type of socialism he propounded was the direct antithesis of the extreme nationalism and militarism in favour in his country today. But there is also another possible reason. Lasalle, like his great contemporary, Karl Marx, was a Jew, and the only work with which he is credited—*The System of Acquired Rights*—may well have been among those burned a few years ago at Berlin University, at which he was a student.

In *Common Sense About the War* G. B. Shaw quotes him as saying that "the sword is never right," but perhaps his best known *bon mot*, and one which is peculiarly apposite just now, was — "Falsehood is a European Power." His death provides a tragic commentary on the truth of his pacifist doctrine and the danger of departing from it. He was killed in a duel with a successful rival in love!

G.B.S., by the way, makes a suggestion which the clergy of all lands might consider—**that if, in crises like the present, the churches closed their doors till the war-drums ceased to beat, it would serve as a potent reminder that, though the glory of war is famous and of long standing, it is not the glory of God.**

Useless to retort that the churches might find they had closed their doors for ever. However stoutly certain sections of it may maintain that they have done with all that nonsense, humanity cannot live without some form of religion, and the majority of men and women demand some outward manifestation of faith in places of assembly.

So that, if the controllers of the "steeple-houses," as George Fox called them, united in obduracy, persisted in "sporting their oak," and refused their office, it seems probable that militant humanity would ultimately capitulate.

There is a precedent for something very like this in the last Burmese War, where the Buddhist priests refused to aid the people in their rising against British domination. But where shall we find a Peter the Hermit to preach this crusade?

A Psalm for Our Time

MARS is my master; I shall not fear.
He maketh me to lie down in still dugouts, he leadeth me to quiet shelters.
Yea, though I walk through gas-proofed rooms, I will fear no evil, for I hear him;
The whirr of his wings, they comfort me.
Surely Security and Prosperity shall follow me all the days of my life
And I shall dwell in a Fool's-Paradise for ever.

F.R.H.

We Fail to Please

I have studied E. E. Briscoe's cartoon, "The Pacifist," in August 7 issue of PEACE NEWS and must confess that I cannot find any reason for your publishing it.

To me it seems more, if not entirely, suitable for an anti-pacifist paper and the ridiculous gentleman does not in any way depict present-day pacifists as I know them.

I suggest that such a cartoon will do our cause more harm than good and sincerely hope we shall not see such another caricature of "The Pacifist" in PEACE NEWS.

A. G. WHEWAY.

101 South Hill Park, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

The non-partisan policy of PEACE NEWS—at least, in the political sense—surely constitutes one of the main sources of its strength and influence. This being so, it was extremely depressing to me, as a pacifist, to read Hedley Smart's article on the Paris Exhibition in the August 14 issue.

With the main text of this article I have no quarrel. What I object to is Mr. Smart's cheap sneer against Russian policy which is implied in his reference to the Russian Pavilion.

Mr. Smart evidently does not realize that not only are revolutions "worth while," but that they are actually essential if humanity is to progress at all. Violent revolutions are certainly to be deprecated, but non-violent revolutions are an absolute and ultimate necessity if we are ever to rid ourselves of the contemporary crime of social injustice.

Mr. Smart seems to doubt that Lenin was a civilized man. Lenin was at least a thinker, a great organizer, and a hater of social injustice.

He next says that the Pavilion's idea is to represent a "Russian peasant, who works from sunup to sundown," as "a better man than a Paris stockbroker, who works from nine to five and makes money."

I can hope only that the Pavilion conveyed this idea to many others with the same clarity as that with which Mr. Smart apparently received it.

A peasant may not necessarily be a better **man** than a stockbroker, though the odds are strongly in favour even of this proposition. A peasant at least works honestly and **produces** something—which is more than can be said of the stockbroker, who occupies his time in share-shoving and market-gambling, and produces nothing whatever—except corruption.

Mr. Smart thinks that the suggestion of "hard work being a pleasure" is "crazy." I am sorry for Mr. Smart if he really thinks that. He tells us that "toil is a necessity, not a virtue in itself." It **is** a necessity, certainly—and it should be a virtue.

He then asks: "Who wants to reap a field before breakfast?" and "Are stockbrokers always villains?"

To the first question I would reply: "Before he can have breakfast at all, **somebody** must reap the field first." That is an elementary economic principle. To the second I would answer: "No one claims that stockbrokers are always villains." The Russian Pavilion must be a very subtle piece of propaganda to be able to suggest this.

Finally, Mr. Smart writes a reverent eulogy on the German exhibit, in a very obviously biassed comparison with that of the Russian.

I did read somewhere that the German Pavilion contains a massive male figure which is supposed to embody the Nazi racial superiority theory. Such a theory should not, in my judgment, find favour with the true pacifist. Somehow or other, I still feel that, in spite of Mr. Smart, the "Industry" and "Agriculture" *motif* is far nearer to the pacifist ideal than the other. It is at least constructive in its implications.

I feel that the obviously partisan character of Mr. Smart's article is likely to cause resentment among a large number of pacifists who, I am sure, are sympathetic toward Russia in her efforts to construct a new social system and so pave the way to world peace.

ALEXANDER C. SPENCE.

33 Forest End, Waterlooville, Portsmouth.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Cooperation for Life—not Death

IN a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* published on August 7, Vice-Admiral Gordon Campbell, V.C., expressed his partial satisfaction on the Government's decision concerning the controversy between the Navy and Air Force.

Officials therefore realize the necessity for greater cooperation in the Defence Services. Similarly it must be realized that greater cooperation should exist between nations on economic and political problems if peace is to be restored and preserved. **Just as the coordination of defence means greater destructive power, so cooperation between nations will mean more creative power.**

D. A. TAYLOR.

409 Blackfen Road, Sidcup, Kent.

AN "INTERNATIONAL STATE"

Most peace societies desire the formation of an International State and what is more have already formed themselves into international bodies—the War Resisters' International, the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, and the World Youth Congress Movement are cases in point. These could, without much difficulty be coordinated under one central body without destroying the identity of any one of them—**but to what effect?**

Would a more efficient and centralized organization of societies existing in various countries give the members of those societies any greater sense of unity and common understanding than they have now? I venture to predict it would not.

No amount of organization can create the conditions of social coherence necessary to the formation of an International State. Neither can we change ourselves from nationalists to internationalists by belonging to associations with international outlooks and efficient secretariats. The reason is that whereas one **may** be able to live one's life wholly within a nation, one cannot do so within an association.

If there is to be a movement or organization transcending the barriers of nation-States, it must be a movement offering a wider and more complete life than is possible within the nation—**not** a group activity specifically organized for the pursuit of certain interests, which is all an association can claim to be.

The only effective alternative to the nation-State as I see it is the **world community**—not, however, to be achieved through the coordination of associations professing peace and goodwill but **through the actual experience of numerous groups in all countries living and developing the communal life** according to the principles which they profess.

If pacifists are really looking toward the International State, they cannot hope to reach it by avoiding the main issue and side-tracking themselves into irrelevant schemes for uniting organizations with similar flags and emblems. The community or area of common living is, I believe, the microcasm of the world community; the close coordination of such communities under a central organization would then be practical and real because it would signify a genuine unity reached through common experience and a transcending of national life by reason of its own superiority.

MARGARET POPE,

London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.

HITLER'S FOREIGN POLICY

It is so important that we understand the foreign policy of Germany that I hope you will give me space to discuss the very interesting article on the subject by Mr. Murry.

To understand *Mein Kampf* it is necessary to read the whole book, and not merely the most violent passages torn from their context and on occasion mistranslated. It contains the whole philosophy of National Socialism, breathes an intense nationalism, and denounces France not because of the War but because of her actions after the War when she let loose negro soldiers on the unhappy people of the Rhine provinces and occupied the Ruhr in time of peace. It exposes the truth of international relations with a brutal frankness, a frankness which we do not like.

Since it was written Hitler has thought deeply on international relations and offered Europe a policy of peace and reconciliation far in advance of the mentality of European diplomatists. His whole conception of peace pacts, in which two nations are pledged to each other not to fight for so many years, is so new that even the pacifists have failed to grasp its full significance. Every act of his foreign policy since he claimed and took the right of the German people to self-defence, has been in the direction of a peaceful settlement of Europe. Germany alone among the nations of Europe is not committed under certain conditions to war.

If, he says, you come in peace, we also come in peace, but if you come plotting war, then we also will return to the old savage policy which I have laid down in *Mein Kampf*. The two positions are not inconsistent. **He believes that nationalism properly directed is compatible with and necessary for a successful parliament of Europe.** As Mr. Murry says, nationalism is new to the German people, and hence its somewhat vigorous expression.

With us our nationalism is so deep that we do not need to express it. We take it for granted that if any nation interferes with our interests we will fight, and that any territory we need in any part of the world we will take, of course for the highest moral reasons. We are horrified at our own image frankly exposed in its nakedness in *Mein Kampf*.

Germany is still suffering from an inferiority complex. Hence her loud assertions of her greatness. We smile quietly. That we are the greatest people is so obvious it is bad form to mention it!

A. P. LAURIE,

38 Springfield Road, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.8.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

Pacifists in Politics

Your correspondent, E. H. Clogg, asks the question "is it consistent for a pacifist to be inside the Labour Party?"

I would reply by asking "is it consistent for a pacifist to be outside the only party which is attempting (with any chance of success) to usher in a new social order based on freedom and justice, although for the time being its foreign policy is not what a pacifist would like it to be?"

Surely it is just as consistent to be in the Labour Party as it is to be inside the Church of England or any other of the religious bodies who do not accept pacifism as a "practical policy."

To some of us who are in the Labour Party, our socialism is as dear to us as another person's religion is to him, and if we are going to begin asking if everything is consistent with our pacifism, we are going to be engaged on a big job of heresy hunting, and wasting time that could otherwise be spent on propagating our pacifism **inside** the Labour Movement.

Further, **I feel that only through socialism can any really pacific state of international affairs come about, and I rate socialism and pacifism as being equal in importance and inseparable.**

Therefore I (and many others) am in the Labour Party believing it to be the one party that offers us the speediest method of escape from the existing anti-pacifist order of capitalism.

Does not socialism mean the brotherhood of man? In the meantime I would suggest that we get into the Labour Movement — industrial and political—and propagate our point of view with the object of changing its policy.

No other way offers the same hope of success.

JOHN CALVERT.

54 Industrial Street, Todmorden, Lancashire.

As a member of the Peace Pledge Union, and Labour Party, I strongly hold that there is nothing inconsistent for pacifists in membership of the Labour Party. I for one am certain that the Labour movement is the greatest hope for the people at the present time.

Where else is a party that is strong enough to put socialism, which is the partner of pacifism, into practice within the next decade or so? Do some pacifists forget that pacifism alone is not enough? We must put bread into the hands of the unemployed and their children or pacifism will mean nothing to them.

We must more fully reward the toiling masses and reduce their hours of labour. Children must be taken out of industry. Life must be made sweeter. Are pacifists ready to do all this themselves and neglect a ready-made machine that exists for the purpose? Let us rather spread our pacifism within the Labour Party than criticize it from without.

EDWARD WINDEBANK.

15 Rose Road, Southampton.

BOYS' BRIGADE

I have been through the ranks of the Boys' Brigade and have continued as an officer for many years (eighteen altogether). I, too, am an active pacifist, having assisted in the formation of our Bournemouth Group.

My own view is that pacifism is being extended rather than hindered by association with the B.B. movement. A very large number of senior B.B. officers went through the "War to end War," and realizing its futility are exerting their influence in the other direction with the lads.

I would pay my tribute to the B.B. movement for what it has meant to me and would assert that my pacifism has been fostered by my long association with it. The spirit of the officers throughout the country is, I believe, definitely assisting the course of world peace.

P. G. BULSTRODE.

"Redcote," River Ways, Christchurch.

Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

AWAY FROM BIG BEN



MY post-bag this August has lightened, thank heavens!

Normally, some eighty to a hundred communications reach me during a week and requests for advice, unemployment and relief "cases," invitations to speak, matrimonial, housing, and sickness problems, colonial grievances, and so forth mingle with personal and domestic matters as they await attention in the letter basket.

Wealthy or trade union M.P.s may have the benefit of secretarial assistance, but if one has personally to answer this correspondence and in addition read numerous memoranda and publications, attend a variety of committees, and seek or give thirty or forty interviews, then an M.P. is verily in danger of not seeing the wood for the trees.

Then, of course, when the House is sitting, he should spend some time listening to speeches and, if he gets the chance and is able and willing to wait several hours, make one himself. (Actually, if every member wished to speak for fifteen minutes it would take at least seven weeks before the last unfortunate man on the rota was reached.)

It is not surprising, therefore, that some M.P.s either tend to rely on old dogmas and assumptions or to rest on generalities and impulsive reactions.

●

YET surely there is urgent need for responsible public representatives to seek intellectual heights in order to gain perspective and proportion; otherwise there remains the certainty of narrow judgment and shallow decision. But how can they find adequate time for this purpose or avoid inherent bias?

Moreover, there is that other vital factor, the relationship of M.P.s not only to their constituents but also to the mentality of their constituents. These constituents have, for the most part, much less opportunity for political thought than those who represent them. A brief education, followed by years of routine toil, leaves the average elector with little inclination to utilize his or her scanty hours in attempting to grasp the intricacies of modern problems or in exploring fundamental principles.

Herein lies a challenge to democracy and the source of its criticism. How can the people know what is best, in view of their limitations?

How can their leaders really lead, seeing that they are bound ultimately by popular restriction, or with their own limitations, they have to practise a constant game of bluff in order to secure or retain the general trust of a majority? "Can the blind lead the blind?"

●

DICTATORSHIP exploits this dilemma. Democratic representation is and must be a farce, it is argued, for neither electors nor their representatives are either free or capable for the colossal task of government. And even where there is reflection or discussion it simply leads to the paralysis of uncertainty or to the disintegration of bitter diversity.

No elected committee can guide a ship through the hazards of the ocean and safely reach port. Let there be, therefore, an appropriate genius in charge of the ship of State, entitled to complete authority by his own intrinsic merits!

But this is no solution to the problem. It simply removes the living problem by removing living humanity. The patient is not cured, but filleted.

No, we have to recognize that the problem must remain because Man is growing up and the very difficulty of relating government to the people is a beneficent service to the human soul, which in return demands patience, sensitiveness, and insight.

A true solution can and will be reached if and when we understand the art of reconciling the subtle biological, economic, and psychological interactions of human experience. And this means that the processes of war are and always will be the very Devil to experimental civilization.

Mussolini on

Anglo-Italian Relations : : "Rome-Berlin Axis" : : Fascism : : Bolshevism

"WHEN I turn to reflect upon our relations with London during the last two years I am led to conclude that at bottom there has been a great misunderstanding. Opinion has lagged behind.

"There exists a superficial and picturesque knowledge of Italy, of that picturesqueness which I detest. This young, resolute, mighty Italy is not yet known."

In these words Signor Mussolini referred to Anglo-Italian relations at Palermo last Friday, and added that he thought it "possible to arrive at a lasting and firm resolution between the pathway and life of two nations."

Apart from one section devoted to Sicily, scene of recent manœuvres, on which he declared it would be supreme folly for any invader to think of landing, the speech was concerned with foreign affairs. Other passages were:—

Relations would certainly be better if in France authoritative circles were not idolators before the idols of Geneva, and if there were not also other currents which for the last fifteen years have awaited with a tenacity worthy of a better cause the collapse of the fascist régime.

It has been said that we desire recognition by the League of Nations. Nothing of the sort. We do not ask the officials at Geneva to register a birth. We do think, however, that the time has come to register a death.

For the last thirteen months there has been a dead man in history. Bury him in the name of public health.

We cannot make any further distinction between those who have recognized the Empire and those who have not recognized it.

Another reality of which account must be taken is that which is now commonly known as the Rome-Berlin axis. You understand me when I say there is an active solidarity between the two régimes.

Let it be said in the most categorical manner that we will not tolerate in the Mediterranean bolshevism or anything of a similar nature.

Whenever these disturbances created by a people absolutely foreign to the Mediterranean have been warded off, I shall be pleased to issue an appeal for peace to all those countries which are bathed by that sea where three continents have brought together three civilizations.

Arms Contract Dispute

Diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Portugal were broken off by the latter country last week following a dispute concerning the supply of machine guns.

Pressure from those interested in impeding Portuguese rearmament was blamed for delays in the granting of export licences by Czechoslovakia, and a Portuguese Press comment declared that Czechoslovakia was "a Russian fortress in Central Europe."

Portuguese allegations were refuted in an official statement issued by the Czechoslovak Government, which declared it had accepted the Portuguese assurance that the machine guns would not be passed on to either of the opposing forces in Spain.

PALESTINE INQUIRY ENDS

The special session of the Permanent Mandates Commission called to deal with the problem of Palestine ended last week, when the commission drew up its report for submission to the League Council and Assembly.

The commission's report does not reject ultimate partition, but considers essential prolongation of the period of "apprenticeship" for Jews and Arabs, to be carried on either through provisional cantonization or a separate Mandate for each.

Steel Makers Trying "To Get All They Can"

Rising steel prices, inevitable result of protection, now accentuated by the arms programme, formed the subject of a complaint last week by Lord Nuffield, who has himself been an ardent advocate of protection for the automobile industry.

"It is asked why we cannot produce a cheaper motor-car," said Lord Nuffield.

"The steel manufacturers of this country are doing their best to get all they can from the present position—the present demand for steel. They are overcharging us in this country.

"Since they had the duty their price has gone up 25 percent. Since we had our duty on motor-cars our prices have gone down fifty percent."

Negotiations between motor manufacturers and steel makers are now in progress.

Platform Pars

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

We shall be erring on the side of an underestimate if we take the increase in the world's annual expenditure on armaments between 1931 and 1936 at not less than £2,000,000,000.

Unless the increase of expenditure on arms is relaxed, the peoples of many countries will be faced with a progressive reduction of the labour and materials available for civil requirements, leading to a further limitation of personal liberty and the impoverishment of their standards.

Prices are rising. There is a world shortage of steel, the basic material of all forms of rearmament; and in most industrial countries there is an acute shortage of certain classes of skilled labour.

Can the industrial systems of the world stand rearmament at this pace? There are reasons for doubting whether they can.

A "Military Civilization"

IMPORTANT army manœuvres have been taking place in Sicily and have provided the occasion for a speech by Signor Mussolini in which he asserted "that the foundation of our doctrine and our civilization is the preparation, ever more intense, of the Italian people for the military life."

History showed, he added, that "when a people does not like to bear its own arms it ends by bearing the arms of others." Most surprising of all was the phrase, "an unwarlike people has no alternative but misery and servitude."

To see the absurdity of this statement it is only necessary to recall that throughout the world ordinary men and women have one great desire: to be spared the "misery and servitude" that would undoubtedly accompany another world war.

LATE NEWS

Brigadier-General F. P. Crozier's many friends in the pacifist movement will be very sorry to learn that he is lying seriously ill in Walton-on-Thames Cottage Hospital.

Their best wishes for a complete recovery and sympathy in his suffering will be extended to him, especially as his honesty and courage in exposing the brutality of war have recently brought upon him much personal criticism.

If you have difficulty in getting PEACE NEWS (or if your newsagent is unable to deliver it by Saturday morning) send a card at once to

59 Waterfall Rd., London, N.11

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Peace News

August 28, 1937

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MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

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The above can be obtained from the author, A. Ruth Fry, Thorpeness, Suffolk.

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Please send names and addresses of anyone who might be interested to receive specimen copies of PEACE NEWS to the publishing office, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.

National Sovereignty—Bar to International Justice

From a Correspondent

DURING the conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, held at Worcester at the end of July, attention was drawn to the desire for justice as one of the most powerful human instincts, and the view was advanced that authoritative decisions as to what is just would be more effective in bringing peace and security to the world than the defence and rearmament measures in common favour. Therefore the League should give priority to investigation of the most reliable method of arriving at just decisions.

The important fact was noted that representatives of member-States are not permitted to express personal opinions based on the ethical principles of any religion, but are in duty bound to express the views of the governments whom each of them represents, and that such views are not based on any concern for humanity but are intended to advance the particular interests of individual member-States. This fact indicated the futility of any expectation that the League should give just decisions.

On the other hand the special fitness for giving just decisions and the reputation for impartiality of the Permanent Court of International Justice were acknowledged readily; so it seemed desirable that the Assembly and Council of the League should refer all disputes to the court, for opinion as provided by article fourteen of the Covenant.

Mr. C. A. Radice, the originator of the discussion, undertook to ascertain, by personal discussion with the legal department of the League, in Geneva, what obstacles stood in the way of a procedure which was likely to prove very effective in removing a cause of war; he has returned and reports as follows.

This matter has been under investigation. The International Labour Office and seven member-States favour the view that the question—whether a dispute should be referred for opinion to the court—is a matter of procedure and may be decided by a majority of votes. Italy and Switzerland desire further investigation. Latvia, Finland, Australia, and Great Britain wish to classify references into such as are questions of procedure and such as relate to the substance of a dispute; disputes of the latter class should not be referred without unanimity. Unanimity is desired in all cases by four member-States. The remaining member-States have not replied.

The view of the British Government, expressed on October 23, 1936, was momentous. It gives a lead to States who prefer secret diplomacy to the open, public, precise, impartial procedure of the Permanent Court; it favours States who fear a clear, public discussion of their case; it favours secret bargaining and subservience to particular interests; **it is undemocratic.**

Dr. G. P. Gooch, joint editor of *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, emphasized, in an address delivered at Geneva on August 16, 1937, that the claim by nations to be sole judges of their relations with other countries, viz., the claim to national sovereignty, is incompatible with peace, that peace will be in constant danger until all nations accept the principle of third party judgment.

As long as the British voter delays renunciation of that mediæval claim, the British Government cannot give any reply to the League other than that given; our peace societies should concentrate on explaining this to the British voter.

Forthcoming Meetings

August

28 **(Sat.)** 7 p.m. Church House, Douglas Road, **HOUNSLOW;** poster-parade, and 7.45 p.m. Treaty Road; open-air meeting; Peace Pledge Union, Richmond and Hounslow groups.

29 **(Sun.)** 4 p.m. Winnats, **CASTLETON;** open-air meeting; Cheshire Monthly Meeting Peace Committee of Society of Friends.

September

1 **(Wed.)** 8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY,** London, W.C.2; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

2 **(Thurs.)** 8 p.m. Market Place, **ROMFORD;** P.P.U. speaker; local Peace Council.

STUDENTS TELL SEASIDE CROWDS

A mixed team from Oxford University and Goldsmith's College, London, spoke on the "Level" at Brighton and in the Recreation Ground at Seaford, on Sunday and Monday this week.

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